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7-10-69

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *b7d*

SUBJECT: Gromyko's Foreign Policy Speech

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko spoke at length to the semi-annual session of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow today. We have a TASS summary but no verbatim text yet.

From the summary, it appears that Gromyko's language was temperate and on the whole positive as regards relations with the US. In terms of content, however, I can detect no advance on such matters as the Middle East, Vietnam, Europe and arms control.

Gromyko mentions Romania several times in the context of its membership in the Warsaw Pact and the socialist camp, along with the other bloc countries. In effect, he reaffirms the "Brezhnev doctrine" albeit in less provocative words than the original formulation last year.

The pre-occupation with China is very prominent; his words are a mixture of threats to "rebuff" provocations and expressions of interest in better relations in the long term.

On SALT, he carefully describes the forthcoming talks as an exchange of views rather than negotiations; he does not refer to an opening date. (There are indications that we may get a response fairly soon and that it will be in terms of early or mid-August.) He also notes what you have said about a well-prepared summit but leaves it at that.

All told, in my judgment, this speech leaves Soviet policy where it has been; but the temperate tone on relations with us and, especially, on arms talks will probably be cited -- as the Soviets undoubtedly intended it to be -- by Administration opponents as justifying "restraint" on our part.

Whatever the Soviets' real view of your Romanian visit, Gromyko shows no direct reaction, beyond, of course, affirming the essence of the "Brezhnev doctrine."

NSS review completed.

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**-2-**

Ron Ziegler and the State Department spokesman will say, if they are asked for comment, that we have seen the accounts of Gromyko's speech and that as far as US-Soviet relations are concerned you and the Secretary of State have previously stated our attitude.

Attached is the summary of the Gromyko speech (Tab A).

HSonnenfeldt:mm:7/10/69

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FBIS 21

GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY

MOSCOW TASS INTERNATIONAL SERVICE IN ENGLISH 0925 GMT 10 JUL 69 L

(TEXT) MOSCOW, JULY 10 (TASS)--SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREY GROMYKO DELIVERED AT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR A REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OPENED IN THE GRAND KREMLIN PALACE HERE TODAY.

"THE BASIC GUIDE LINES AND TASKS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY AT THIS STAGE OUR OUTLINED IN THE DECISIONS OF THE 23RD CONGRESS OF THE CPSU. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS FOR ITS AIM TO ENSURE, TOGETHER WITH OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, FAVOURABLE INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM," ANDREY GROMYKO SAID.

ANDREY GROMYKO SAID THAT "THE SOVIET UNION WHICH AS A BIG WORLD POWER MAINTAINS EXTENSIVE RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS, CANNOT BE PASSIVE TO SUCH EVENTS WHICH, THOUGH TERRITORIALLY REMOTE, AFFECT OUR SECURITY AND THE SECURITY OF OUR FRIENDS."

"THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY OF NATIONS REPRESENTS A GREAT FORCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL AREA TODAY. EVEN THE SLIGHTEST MOTION OF THIS POWERFUL ORGANISM WITH ITS INFLUENCE AND MIGHT, PERHAPS EVEN ITS PRONOUNCEMENTS ON THE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE HAVE IMMEDIATE AND BROAD REPERCUSSIONS," GROMYKO SAID.

"MORE THAN ONE COUNTRY IN ASIA AND AFRICA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD WOULD HAVE FALLEN VICTIM TO IMPERIALIST ARBITRARINESS--MANY OF THEM ADMIT IT THEMSELVES--IF NOT FOR THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WITH THEIR WEIGHT AND THEIR ACTIVITIES AIMED AT DEFENDING THE RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLES, BIG AND SMALL, AND DEFENDING THEIR INDEPENDENCE," THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SAID.

(MORE)

10 JUL 1022Z AL/JRB

FBIS 22

FIRST ADD 21 (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

X X X FOREIGN MINISTER SAID.

(TEXT) "OUR FOES LIKE TO EXAMINE THROUGH A MAGNIFYING GLASS CERTAIN FLAWS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE OR OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. BUT THE PARTIES IN POWER IN THESE COUNTRIES AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS ARE MORE COMPETENT TO JUDGE THESE RELATIONS THAN ANY OUTSIDERS. BY CORRECTING SHORTCOMINGS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM SOCIALIST STATES MAKE THESE RELATIONS STILL STRONGER, FURTHER IMPROVE THEM AND CONTINUE CONFIDENTLY ON THEIR WAY," GROMYKO SAID.

THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER NATIONS HAVE A SPECIAL PART TO PLAY IN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, GROMYKO SAID. "THE INCREASED MIGHT OF THE WAR TREATY ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN PLACED AT THE SERVICE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. BUT LET EVERYONE, WHOM THIS MAY CONCERN, KNOW THAT THIS ORGANIZATION WILL NEVER ALLOW ANYONE TO ENCROACH ON THE SECURITY OF ITS MEMBERS AND THE GAINS OF SOCIALISM IN THESE COUNTRIES.

"THE ALLEGATIONS THAT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES FAVOUR A SOMEWHAT CURTAILED AND NOT FULL SOVEREIGNTY FOR STATES SHOULD BE FIRMLY REJECTED. THIS IS NOTHING BUT SLANDER. NOTHING CAN IMPART FULLER MEANING TO THE CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY THAN THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO DEFEND TO THE END THE ROAD THEY HAVE CHOSEN AGAINST ANY ENCROACHMENTS, OVERT AND COVERT, TO PUSH THEM OFF THIS ROAD AND TAKE AWAY THEIR SOCIALIST GAINS. NO ONE CAN DEPRIVE SUCH A PEOPLE OF THE RIGHT TO RELY FOR SUPPORT ON ITS FRIENDS WHO ARE LOYAL TO THEIR INTERNATIONALISTIC DUTY AND THEIR OBLIGATIONS, WHILE ITS FRIENDS CANNOT BE DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT TO GIVE ASSISTANCE TO THIS PEOPLE."

ANDREY GROMYKO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DECISIONS TAKEN AT THE RECENT SESSION OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. "THE SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE PERSISTENTLY, ON THE BASIS OF THE DECISIONS TAKEN, A POLICY OF EXTENDING AND DEEPENING ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FRATERNAL COUNTRIES AND CARRY OUT COMMITMENTS RESULTING FROM THESE DECISIONS."

THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL DO EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS AND FRATERNAL COOPERATION WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF POLAND, THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, THE GDR, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY, THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF RUMANIA, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MONGOLIA, THE KOREAN DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM.

(MORE)

10 JUL 1034Z AL/JRB

FBIS 23

SECOND ADD 21 (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

X X X REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM.

(TEXT) "AMONG THE FAMILY OF SOCIALIST NATIONS IS CUBA, A COUNTRY LYING FAR AWAY GEOGRAPHICALLY BUT VERY CLOSE TO OUR HEART. THE SOVIET UNION IS DOING EVERYTHING IT CAN TO HELP THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA AND ITS PEOPLE TO STAND UP TO PRESSURE AND PROVOCATIONS. WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH CUBA," GROMYKO SAID.

THE SOVIET UNION "ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA ALTHOUGH THESE RELATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN EVEN ALL THE TIME. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE DEDICATION OF THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR AND YUGOSLAVIA TO THE IDEALS OF SOCIALISM AND THEIR MUTUAL CONCERN IN EXTENDING RELATIONS AND CONTACTS OFFER A GOOD BASIS FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS. WE STAND FULLY FOR THIS."

"THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN AND REMAINS AN OPPONENT OF WARS AND AGGRESSION. COUNTRIES, VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION, HAVE ALWAYS HAD AND WILL ALWAYS HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE SOVIET UNION. IF ONLY FOR THIS REASON, THE SOVIET UNION'S FOREIGN POLICY CLASHES IN MANY WAYS WITH THAT OF CERTAIN WESTERN POWERS," GROMYKO SAID.

"THE SOVIET UNION WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT A SOBER CONSIDERATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION AND POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF THE POLICY AND ACTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD MAKE THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT END ITS WAR OF AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM. THIS IS A SURE WAY TO SUCCESS IN THE PEACE TALKS NOW HELD BETWEEN THE SIDES CONCERNED, AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD LIKE TO SEE THIS SUCCESS."

GROMYKO STRESSED THAT "THE SOVIET UNION IS GIVING AND WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE ASSISTANCE TO THE FRATERNAL VIETNAMESE PEOPLE IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE."

(MORE)

10 JUL 1041Z AL/JRB

FBIS 25

THIRD ADD 21 (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

X X X THEIR JUST STRUGGLE."

(TEXT) THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST GREATLY AFFECTS THE WORLD SITUATION AS A WHOLE, GROMYKO SAID. "IT WOULD BE A SHORT-SIGHTED POLICY TO REPOSE HOPES, AS THEY DO IN ISRAEL, IN MILITARY SUPERIORITY. THE SUREST WAY WOULD BE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM ON THE BASIS OF WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS FROM OCCUPIED AREAS AND SIMULTANEOUS RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF ALL MIDDLE EASTERN STATES, INCLUDING ISRAEL, TO INDEPENDENT NATIONAL EXISTENCE, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LASTING PEACE IN THIS IMPORTANT AREA."

"THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS THAT ALL OPPORTUNITIES SHOULD BE USED FOR ADJUSTING THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ANY DELAY IS DANGEROUS AND DOES HARM TO ALL," GROMYKO SAID.

AFTER NOTING THAT EUROPEAN AFFAIRS HOLD AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE SOVIET UNION'S FOREIGN POLICY, ANDREY GROMYKO SET FORTH THE MAIN AIMS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IN THE AREA, AIMS WHICH WERE CLEARLY OUTLINED IN THE DECISIONS OF THE 23RD CONGRESS OF THE CPSU.

"THE INTERESTS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY CALL, IN THE FIRST PLACE, FOR THE RECOGNITION OF THE RESULTS OF THE WAR BY ALL STATES, AND THE BUILDING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL EUROPEAN STATES AND BETWEEN EUROPEAN STATES AND THE COUNTRIES OF OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD ON THIS FOUNDATION."

GROMYKO STRESSED THAT THE "FRONTIERS OF STATES, EITHER IN THE EAST OR IN THE WEST, IN THE NORTH OR IN THE SOUTH OF THE CONTINENT, ARE INVIOABLE AND NO FORCE CAN CHANGE THIS SITUATION."

(MORE)

10 JUL 1100Z AL/JRB

FBIS 27

FOURTH ADD 21 (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

X X X CHANGE THIS SITUATION.

(TEXT) "WE SHOULD BE SINNING AGAINST THE TRUTH IF WE WERE TO DISCOUNT THE COMMON FEATURES SHARED BY PRE-WAR GERMANY AND THE PRESENT FEDERAL REPUBLIC, IF WE WERE TO IGNORE CERTAIN RELATED TRENDS IN THEIR POLICY AND IDEOLOGICAL ATMOSPHERE," GROMYKO SAID.

"THE SOVIET UNION HAS STATED MORE THAN ONCE THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAS NO LESS OPPORTUNITIES THAN OTHER COUNTRIES FOR DEVELOPING NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS NOT WE WHO CREATE DIFFICULTIES IN THESE RELATIONS. THE MATTER IS THAT THE FRG WANTS TO GET AS A PRICE FOR BETTER RELATIONS NOTHING LESS THAN OUR DEPARTURE FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR POLICY IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. AND THIS IS RULED OUT."

"WE SHALL NOT AGREE, OF COURSE, TO ANY STEPS DOING HARM TO THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE GDR AND AFFECTING THE SPECIAL STATUS OF WEST BERLIN," THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SAID.

GROMYKO STRESSED THAT A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM WOULD BE "THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF STRENGTHENING EUROPEAN SECURITY."

"THE GOVERNMENTS OF A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES SAY THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE BY CARRYING OUT THE NECESSARY PREPARATIONS. THIS DOES NOT CONTRADICT OUR VIEWS, EITHER. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS TO PREVENT THESE PREPARATIONS FROM BECOMING AN IMPASSABLE THICKET ON THE WAY TO THE CONFERENCE."

(MORE)

10 JUL 1129Z AL/TM

FBIS 30

FIFTH ADD 27 (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

XXX TO THE CONFERENCE."

(TEXT) "ON THE WHOLE, OUR POSITIONS IN EUROPE ARE DEPENDABLE. THE GAINS OF SOCIALISM, FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES ARE SECURE. THE GDR HOLDS THE SAME PLACE AS ANY OTHER MEMBER NATION IN THE DEFENCE SYSTEM OF THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION, AND NO ONE SHOULD BE TEMPTED TO TEST THE STRENGTH OF ITS POSITION.

"WE HAVE NEVER THREATENED AND DO NOT THREATEN NOW ANYONE IN EUROPE OR BEYOND IT. HAVING DEFEATED THE FASCIST AGGRESSORS, OUR ARMY BROUGHT PEACE AND NOT WAR TO THE CENTRE OF EUROPE," GROMYKO SAID. HE STRESSED IT WOULD BE "VERY IMPORTANT TO SET UP A ZONE FREE FROM MISSILE-NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN."

THE SITUATION IN ASIA AND ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD DEPENDS, TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT, ON WHAT AIMS CHINA WILL SERVE AND THE WAY ITS FOREIGN POLICY WILL BE ORIENTED, GROMYKO SAID.

*China*

"THE LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE'S CHINA HAVE DONE EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER TO UNSETTLE RELATIONS THAT DEVELOPED BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IN THE FIRST YEARS AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S CHINA." "EVEN OUR MOST RABID ENEMIES HAVE NEVER USED SUCH UNWORTHY METHODS AND ON SUCH A SCALE AS CHINESE LEADERS ARE NOW DOING IN ORDER TO DISCREDIT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND THEIR PEACEABLE FOREIGN POLICY. "CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY HAS BROKEN WITH PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND LOST ITS CLASS SOCIALIST CONTENT," THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SAID.

GROMYKO STRESSED: "A LINE TOWARDS RESTORING, AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WAS AND REMAINS THE BASIS OF OUR POLICY IN REGARD TO CHINA, WHILE, OF COURSE, RESOLUTELY REBUFFING ANY PROVOCATIONS. THE SOVIET UNION COUNTERPOSES THE AVALANCE OF ABUSE AND INSULTS WITH A CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY, WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

"OF COURSE, THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE ANTI-SOVIET STATEMENTS OF THE PEKING LEADERS, WHICH TESTIFY TO THEIR HOSTILE INTENTIONS AGAINST OUR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE SOVIET PEOPLE, AND THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE REALISING THESE INTENTIONS. ANY ATTEMPTS TO SPEAK WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE LANGUAGE OF THREATS, AND THE MORE SO--OF ARMAMENTS, HAVE ENCOUNTERED, AND WILL ENCOUNTER AN APPROPRIATE REBUFF ON OUR PART."

(MORE)

10 JUL 1337Z PA/TN

No Objection to Declassification in Full 2012/03/07 : LOC-HAK-286-3-19-1

FBIS 31

SIXTH ADD 27 (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

XXX ON OUR PART."

(TEXT) ANDREY GROMYKO REMINDED OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE FALSE TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OF THE CHINESE LEADERS TO THE SOVIET UNION.

"WE WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT THE CHINESE LEADERS WILL ARRIVE AT THE ONLY CORRECT CONCLUSION, THAT INCIDENTS MUST BE EXCLUDED, THAT IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, THE LANGUAGE OF ANIMOSITY AND STRENGTH IS INAPPROPRIATE LANGUAGE."

"MEETINGS ARE TAKING PLACE AT PRESENT IN KHABAROVSK BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO SIDES ON A NARROW QUESTION--THE SETTLEMENT OF RIVER SHIP NAVIGATION IN CERTAIN BORDER AREAS. THE SOVIET SIDE REGARDS POSITIVELY THE VERY FACT OF SUCH A MEETING. YET, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY SO FAR ANYTHING ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THESE TALKS, IN VIEW OF CERTAIN STATEMENTS MADE FROM THE VERY START, AND LATER ON, BY THE CHINESE REPRESENTATIVES, AND THE RECENT NEW PROVOCATION BY THE CHINESE SIDE ON THE AMUR RIVER."

"THE PROBLEM OF STOPPING THE ARMS RACE AND OF DISARMAMENT REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST ACUTE PROBLEMS FACING HUMANITY," SAID GROMYKO.

THE SOVIET UNION PROCEEDED AND PROCEEDS FROM THE FACT THAT THE MOST RADICAL STEP TOWARDS REDUCING THE DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR WOULD BE UNIVERSAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT OF STATES. THE GOVERNMENTS WHICH ATTEMPT TO PROVE THAT SUCH A RESOLUTE STEP IS NOT YET RIPE ENOUGH ARE DECEIVING THE PEOPLES."

"THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY REPORTED TO THE SUPREME SOVIET ON ITS READINESS TO START AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OVER SO-CALLED STRATEGIC WEAPONS. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS DECLARED THAT IT WAS PREPARING FOR THE EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS ALSO PREPARED FOR THIS. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE TWO SIDES WILL APPROACH THIS QUESTION BEARING IN MIND ITS PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE," SAID GROMYKO.

ALL MAJOR PROBLEMS RELATED TO NOT ALLOWING ATOMIC ENERGY BE USED FOR THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS MAY BE RADICALLY SOLVED ONLY WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE NUCLEAR POWERS.

(MORE)

10 JUL 1349Z JRC/IN

FBIS 32

SEVENTH ADD 27 (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

XXX THE NUCLEAR POWERS.

(TEXT) GROMYKO SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION, ALONG WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, HAS BEGUN THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS, ALREADY SIGNED BY ABOUT 90 STATES.

IN ORDER THAT THE AGREEMENT ON A COMPLETE BAN OF NUCLEAR TESTS WAS ACHIEVED, "THE WESTERN POWERS SHOULD NOT COMPLICATE THE MATTER BY PUTTING FORWARD UNJUSTIFIED CONDITIONS, WHICH EXTEND BEYOND THE FRAMEWORK OF THE TASKS OF BANNING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS."

THE SOVIET UNION, GROMYKO NOTED, PROCEEDS FROM THE FACT THAT THE DEMILITARISATION OF THE BOTTOM OF THE SEAS AND OCEANS IS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

"THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION, AIMED AT STOPPING THE ARMS RACE, AND AT DISARMAMENT, IS CARRIED OUT IN THE CLOSEST COOPERATION AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. OUR ALLIES IN THE WARSAW TREATY--POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, BULGARIA, HUNGARY AND ROMANIA--ATTACH PRIORITY IMPORTANCE TO REACHING PROGRESS IN THIS FIELD. IN THEIR TURN, THEY COME OUT WITH IMPORTANT PROPOSALS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF DISARMAMENT, IN PARTICULAR, RELATING TO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

NOT LONG AGO THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WAS INVITED AS A FULL FLEDGED MEMBER TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GENEVA DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE. THE POSITION OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ON DISARMAMENT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CLEAR AND DEFINITE. IT HAS UNSWERVINGLY SUPPORTED EVERY CONSTRUCTIVE MOVE TOWARDS DISARMAMENT. NOW IT IS RECEIVING STILL GREATER OPPORTUNITIES TO CARRY OUT THIS COURSE," SAID GROMYKO.

"ON THE ISSUES OF DISARMAMENT AND MANY OTHER INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE ALWAYS FELT THE SUPPORT OF A LARGE GROUP OF NON-ALIGNED STATES WHOSE POLICY IS AN IMPORTANT POSITIVE FACTOR IN THE COMMON STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, AND THEY APPRECIATE THE POSITION OF THESE STATES."

GROMYKO SAID THAT THE IDEA OF SETTING UP A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA TOO "HAS MET WITH A BROAD INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE, PARTICULARLY IN ASIAN COUNTRIES." "THIS IMPLIES COLLECTIVE EFFORTS BY ALL ASIAN STATES, EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN SECURITY IN THIS AREA OF THE WORLD IN THEIR COMMON INTERESTS."

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE "GIVEN SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES CONCERNED."

(MORE)

10 JUL 1980Z PA/TN

FBIS 34

EIGHTH ADD WQ (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

XXX THE STATES CONCERNED."

(TEXT) "THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE ARE FOR DEVELOPING GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WANT THESE RELATIONS TO BE FRIENDLY BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT THIS WOULD MEET THE INTERESTS OF BOTH THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN PEOPLES."

GROMYKO SAID: "WE TOOK NOTE OF PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON'S STATEMENT THAT IN HIS OPINION A PERIOD OF CONFRONTATION IS FOLLOWED BY AN ERA OF TALKS. THE SOVIET UNION STANDS FOR TALKS. IF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO FOLLOW IN PRACTICE THIS LINE, WE ARE WILLING, AS WE WERE BEFORE, TO FIND CONCERTED POSITIONS BOTH ON THE QUESTIONS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND ON OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. NATURALLY, IN DOING SO THE SOVIET UNION WILL ALWAYS PROCEED FROM RESPECT FOR THE INALIENABLE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF OTHER STATES, BIG AND SMALL."

"THE U.S. PRESIDENT'S PRONOUNCEMENTS IN FAVOUR OF A WELL PREPARED SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING HAVE NOT, OF COURSE, GONE UNNOTICED IN THE SOVIET UNION."

"THERE IS A MEASURE OF SATISFACTION TO BE DERIVED FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY AND FRANCE, WHOSE FOREIGN POLICY IS CHARACTERISED BY ORIENTATION ON ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN STATES."

"OUR RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN DEVELOPED DIFFERENTLY AT DIFFERENT TIMES. BUT THE INVARIABLE CONCLUSION IS THAT PERIODS OF GOOD RELATIONS ONLY BENEFITED THE PEOPLES OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY."

"WE HAVE BEEN GIVING SERIOUS ATTENTION TO A STEADY IMPROVEMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH ITALY."

"WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO OUR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, OUR CLOSE NEIGHBOUR IN THE FAR EAST. THE SOVIET UNION STANDS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY ALONG DIFFERENT LINES," GROMYKO SAID.

THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER THEN APPRAISED THE SOVIET UNION'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BRIEFLY DESCRIBED RELATIONS WITH STATES LYING ALONG THE SOVIET FRONTIERS.

(MORE)

10 JUL 1415Z PA/CT

FBIS.36

NINTH AND LAST ADD 21 (GROMYKO REPORT SUMMARY)

XXX THE SOVIET FRONTIERS.

(TEXT) "CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE OF LATE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY COOPERATION WITH ARAB COUNTRIES. OUR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE STATES OF THIS AREA IS SHAPED IN JOINT POLITICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FORCES OF AGGRESSION, IN DEFENCE OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND PROGRESS OF THESE COUNTRIES.

THE SOVIET UNION, LOYAL AS IT IS TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, STRENGTHENING THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE ON STATES WHICH HAVE APPEARED ON THE MAP OF THE WORLD AS A RESULT OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM, IS COMING OUT FOR FRIENDSHIP AND EFFECTIVE COOPERATION WITH YOUNG AFRICAN STATES. ON THE WHOLE, THERE IS AN APPARENT UPWARD TENDENCY IN OUR RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES, OUR ACTUAL ALLIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, AGAINST COLONIALISM AND NEOCOLONIALISM," ANDREY GROMYKO SAID.

IN HIS REPORT A. A. GROMYKO SPOKE OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH MANY ASIAN STATES.

"THE NUMBER OF STATES IN LATIN AMERICAN WITH WHICH WE MAINTAIN FULL, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IS GROWING."

"A COMBINATION OF MANY FORMS OF INTERCOURSE BETWEEN COUNTRIES AND DIFFERENT FORMS OF THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE TO BE SEEN IN THE INTERNATIONAL AREA. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THEM IS THE UNITED NATIONS," GROMYKO SAID.

THE UNITED NATIONS "IS SO FAR PERFORMING BELOW PAR IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE." THE REPORT MAKES THE CONCLUSION THAT U. N. MEMBER NATIONS, ABOVE ALL, THE GREAT POWERS, THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, SHOULD NOT LEAD THIS ORGANISATION AWAY FROM BIG AND ACUTE PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, SHOULD DO EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER FOR THE UNITED NATIONS TO DEAL PRECISELY WITH SUCH PROBLEMS.

GROMYKO STRESSED THAT "THE SOVIET UNION'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION IS STRONG." "STANDING BEHIND ALL THIS IS THE TREMENDOUS DAY-TO-DAY WORK DONE BY THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND ITS LEADING NUCLEUS--THE POLITICAL BUREAU, THE PURPOSEFUL AND EFFECTIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, ITS PRESIDIUM AND COMMISSIONS, AND ACTIVE EFFORTS BY SOVIET PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS. THIS GREAT AND MANY-SIDED WORK ENSURES A CONSISTENT IMPLEMENTATION AND ABLE PRACTICAL COMBINATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM AND DEFENCE OF THE STATE INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS THE UNAMINING AND UNDIVIDED SUPPORT OF ALL THE SOVIET PEOPLE. THEREIN LIES ITS STRENGTH AND EFFECTIVENESS."

(C E N D A L L)

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION  
July 10, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KISSINGER

FROM: Helmut Sonnenfeldt

SUBJECT: Gromyko's Foreign Policy Speech

Attached at Tab A is a self-explanatory memorandum which you may wish to send to the President on Gromyko's foreign policy speech in Moscow today.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A.

HS:mm

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